1: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1946 SM3 Caingang SM3

616 groups of his moiety he would forever belong (Baldus, 1937 c). The alleged purpose of this assignment was to equalize the groups numerically, so that they could be paired for dancing; but, as each group danced separately, the explanation is probably a rationalization. In fact, the two divisions are not even approximately equal. Members of each group could be recognized by their facial painting. The Kadnyerú display round patterns, the Kamé stripes. (See Horta Barboza, 1913, p. 39.)

Nimuendajú's (1914, pp. 373–375) earlier report concerning the *Caingang* between the Tieté and Ijuhí Rivers, speaks of two moieties associated with the ancestral twins Kañerú and Kamé. The former was of fiery and resolute, but volatile, temperament, and of light, slim build. Kamé, on the other hand, was mentally and physically slow, but persistent. Each moity included three (formerly four) classes: Paí, Votóro, Pénye.

All natural phenomena are divided between these two moieties; the sun is Kamé, the moon, Kañerú. In general, slender and spotted objects belong to the Kañerú, clumsy and striped ones to the Kamé. Their use in ritual is confined to the appropriate group.

The *Aweikoma-Caingang* lack moieties, but have five groups with distinctive sets of personal names and body-paint designs. Though recent genealogical inquiry failed to establish either strict inheritance of group membership or exogamy, the natives insisted that individuals bearing the same designs should not marry, so that a former patrilineal clan system is indicated (Henry, 1941, pp. 59, 88, 175 f.).

Marriage groups.—Concerning marriage rules between sub-
● 582 groups, Horta Barboza (1913, p. 26) gives the following information:

> Marriages obey complicated rules depending on the groups [moieties] and subgroups into which the *Kaingang* families are divided. The most important of these groups are the Camens and Canherucrens; marriages can take place only between the men of one group and the women of the other. However, it must not be thought that it is licit for a Camen to marry any Canherucren for, in order to make things more complicated, there is a division into subgroups, fairly numerous. Individuals of a certain Kamé subgroup can only marry a woman of a certain Canherucren [Kadnyerú] subgroup, save for a few exceptions which confuse a question which otherwise should be so simple.

601 **Kinship terms.**—The relationship system is based on relative age. A man calls his father, his grandfather, and the men of their generations by the same term, and his mother and grandmother by another term. He uses a single name for all male and female blood relatives, excepting real parents and grandparents and grandparents' siblings and own children. One word (child) serves for all people much younger than ego and for the children of all people with whom he has sexual relations. There is a word for husband and another for wife. A single word applies to all relatives-in-law (Henry, 1941, pp. 177–178).

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553 352 The child then receives a new name. Later, he may adopt names that refer to notable incidents of his life.

852 304 In the Santa Catarina group, the perforation of the boys' lower lip at the age of 2 or 3 is marked by great celebrations. Women, holding gourd rattles, dance with warriors, who beat the ground with their spears. The children are intoxicated with beer, and shaken until half unconscious, when their ceremonial fathers pierce their lips with a sharp stick (Henry, 1941, pp. 195–197).

●582 **Marriage.**—According to Baldus' census (1937 c, p. 43), men are generally older than their wives, in some cases as much as 15 to 20 years; among 37 percent of the couples there was a difference of 10 years.

A man marries when 18 to 20 years of age. If his bride is not yet of age, he stays with her parents, waiting for the first signs of puberty. In case of child betrothal, the lad's parents have to provide for the girl's subsistence.

595 Polygyny is mentioned by all the early sources, but details vary. Some authors declare that it was an old man's privilege, others that it was restricted to the chiefs, good hunters, or famous warriors. There are also indications of sororal polygyny and of marriage simultaneously to a woman and her daughter (Teschauer, 1929, p. 350). In *Tupí-Guaraní* fashion, a girl often married her mother's brother.

[184] The *Caingang* of Palmas are, and claim always to have been monogamous.

Manizer (1930) states that though a man may not marry his cousin—he does not specify which—he usually takes her as a concubine until her own marriage. If pregnancy occurs meanwhile, the girl, as a rule, commits abortion. It often happened that a man grew fonder of his cousin than of his legal wife, and that he sometimes [578] resolutely opposed her marriage. The continuation of such relationship was bitterly resented by the legitimate wife.

For the *Aweikoma*, Henry infers that 60 percent of all marriages are monogamous, a fair proportion of the remainder being polyandrous.

585 A marriage ceremony witnessed by Manizer (1930, p. 776) took place during a drinking bout. Some old men seized the bridegroom and bride and pushed them toward each other in spite of the woman's resistance. Then they dragged them into the bridegroom's hut and left them there under a blanket. The following day the woman ran away, but was brought back by force.

591 Matrilocal residence, formerly the *Caingang* rule, is still frequent, though many couples set up their own households. Baldus (1937 c, p. 43) heard "that only lazy men lived in their father-in-law's house and that, should the father-in-law die, the husband would have to 'govern' his mother-in-law."

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837 581 are that way. When their husbands go away they sleep with others. That is why I want to marry a Brazilian woman."

837 The conflict between the sharing that is experienced and absolutely exclusive possession, which is simply and unqualifiedly theory, is far more fundamental in Kaingáng society than it is in our own. Adultery in Kaingáng society is not a circumstance of some marriages but a condition of practically all. Yet, although husband and wife live in constant suspicion of each other's loyalty, it rarely becomes desperate. Husbands do not as a rule follow their wives about, nor wives their husbands, although if there are good grounds for suspicion a husband may beat his wife or a wife her husband. He often leaves her for days at a time even when he knows that there are enterprising men still in camp and no one to chaperon her. This attitude really saves the culture from becoming a nightmare. In a society in which everyone believes that everybody else is engaged in seducing his neighbor's wife, suspicion backed by intense jealousy would drive people to desperation. But when Waipó leaves his wife to go across the river to make manioc all she has to say to him is a laughing, "You're going over there where everyone is living in very close quarters," and with a rough caress he is gone. One evening when Chukembégn and I were coming from the manioc mill I said to him, "Now that you've left your wife alone she may sleep with someone else." "I don't care; let her," said he. There is something more than mere bravado in this statement. It expresses the typical determination not to see what is not forced on one.

●582 Since hunting is the most vital occupation, it might be supposed that a good hunter would be the most desirable husband. It might be felt also that since the Kaingáng used to be perpetually at war with the Brazilians, with the Kangdjá, and with their vendetta enemies, they would place a high premium on ferocity, daring, bravery, enterprise, and intelligence and that these traits would influence a woman in the choice of a husband. Nevertheless a number of attitudes combined to render all these qualities almost completely inoperative.

224 654 Although hunting is the very basis of their economy the Kaingáng, curiously enough, do not recognize differences in hunting skill. If a man returns empty-handed from the hunt he and his wife may share their relatives' food without shame. In all the time I was among the Kaingáng I never heard an unsuccessful hunter spoken of with scorn nor saw one overcome with shame, and although she may scold him roundly, no wife ever leaves her husband for coming home without meat.

828 167 Just as they assume that all men are practically equals in hunting skill the Kaingáng assume that all men are brave. Special emphasis is laid on this trait, therefore, only in exceptional cases. This holds also for intelligence, for the Kaingáng have a strong tendency to think of wisdom

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but they were never the equals in accomplishment of the men of middle age and over. So positive judgments were not made of young men. They were just *kēlú*, who had yet to make many attacks on the Brazilians and who had yet to bathe their spoon-shaped lance blades in the blood of a vendetta enemy. We can understand now why a man's *waikayú* did not influence a young woman in the choice of a husband, for all men were assumed to be *waikayú* and only the warriors of middle age or over could be adjudged as outstanding.

If the absence of emphasis on hunting skill, the knowledge that relatives will always feed them, and the lack of expectation of great deeds from *kēlú* effectually muffled all estimates of young men, the concentration of vital effort in the hands of males and the scarcity of women with a number of brothers eliminated the necessity for judging of *tētágn*,[9] young women. After all, what could they do? What techniques did they have that men had not? Only the increasingly unimportant techniques of textile weaving and pottery. The most important occupations, hunting and basketry, were masculine. As for brothers-in-law, they were good to have, and polygyny that did not provide them was to be avoided, but the small and scattered populations made it impossible to demand brothers-in-law as one of the conditions of marriage. Marriage among the young people was and still is, therefore, largely a matter of chance. It is the crystallizing-out of informal sexual relations, which may be due solely to their own initiative, when the couple feel that their needs will be satisfied by the relationship or when they may be instigated by some one of their relatives who sees that they are lovers and decides that they ought to live together.

If human beings followed our ideas of consistency the ethnologist's task of investigation and understanding would be simple. If the Kaingáng were eager to marry off the daughters for whom they have such a difficult time in providing, it would be perfectly understandable. But the Kaingáng see parents as so attached to their daughters, so full of misgivings at the fate that might await them at the hands of their husbands, that they sometimes have fits of anger when they are approached by a go-between. They are sometimes pictured as clinging to a daughter so strongly that they must be asked to "let her alone." Not the parents, but some other member of the family, a brother or an uncle, is often the one who is concerned because a son or daughter is without a spouse. With certain reservations, the following conversation is typical of a dozen others that I recorded.

When Tondúin became interested in marrying off his cousin's son Vomblé, he went to the latter's father and said, "I am going to ask Kemblén

[9] *tē*, woman. *tágn*, fat (noun or adjective), said of animals; hence desirable; also, new or fresh, said of tracks or weapons.

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837 36 524 Through her marriage Kuvé's family gained Vomblé as an ally in the quest for food. Even before marriage a girl's sexual interests are beneficial [43] to her family, for her lovers come with presents of food, and they are welcome at her parents' fireside. The food a lover brings is not payment for favors he has received but a gift in expectation of favors still to come. Even after her marriage a woman's amorous intrigues are of considerable advantage to those around her—even to her own husband, for every time she attracts a man she has added a hunter to the band. Wherever his mistress is, there the lover stays, and unless her husband gets wind of the affair and flies into a rage the lover may very likely follow the camp almost indefinitely. His presence is welcome, of course, for another gun or bow and another knife and axe mean so much more meat and honey. Thus even adultery plays a constructive role in Kaingáng society, for it keeps within the band men who might otherwise go elsewhere in search of satisfaction, and it often culminated in polyandrous marriage, which has been one of the strongest integrating forces in Kaingáng society.

595 582 The story is told of Kuvén who was the lover of both Kanggá and her mother. Now as Kanggá's father grew old and it became difficult for him to get meat, he felt more and more the necessity of having someone to help him hunt for his large family. As long as Kuvén remained he could depend on him, but when it seemed that the young man was becoming interested in Yemái, a woman who was no relative of his and whom, therefore, Kuvén might follow far away to her relatives, Kanggá's father said to his wife and daughter: "Call Kuvén; if he marries Yemái he will leave me and go away. Let him get food for your children when I die. If he marries another woman he will throw your children away." So Kanggá's mother called Kuvén and said to her daughter: "Marry him. I am going to live with you and him." So Kuvén married both mother and daughter, and when Kanggá's father died Kuvén took care of the latter's children.

621 571 The Kaingáng have no system of clans or moieties[1] to impose social obligations on them. Their kinship system is not the crystallization of inescapable obligations that is found in many other primitive societies but prin- [61] cipally a device for grouping people in large age classes. Their mode of life also made the maintenance of complex systems of obligations and loyalties extremely difficult, for they wandered from place to place in little groups of two to twenty adults. Even the biological family had little permanence as a cooperating unit, for children wandered away from their parents when [594] they grew up and brothers separated to go with their in-laws or to travel with childhood playmates and hunting companions in search of adventure. Under the influence of the conflicting obligations of blood and marriage the composition of the small group of adults was forever changing. The dependence of the men on one another, and even their fundamental reali-

[1] See Appendix II, p. 175.

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zation of this dependence, is not enough to stabilize any relationship among them even today, for there are any number of men with whom an individual may join forces, and if he hunts with his father today he may go away with his wife's father tomorrow and with his sister's husband the day after. Nothing compels him to fix his allegiance.

Nevertheless the Kaingáng had achieved a certain degree of social cohesion, and one of the ways in which they managed it was by building permanent cooperating units around their sex interests. It is in this way that social integration, although explicitly expressed in terms of the economically important men, often actually revolved about the women. As in the case of Kanggá and her mother, the women often became the nuclei of polyandrous and also of joint marriages, which often changed their male composition frequently. Thus by her mere existence the woman held together a complex household, which disintegrated when she died. A general lack of formal rules for marriage permitted the easy building up of large *ménages* by gradual additions of men and women. A household might begin with either a monogamous or a polygynous marriage; as time passed another man might be added to the household and become the co-husband; perhaps another wife was added and then another man. Through the years the family would expand and contract or simply change as the wives or husbands died or were killed off in feuds or the raids of the bugreiros.

The Indians told me of the marriages of Wanyekí.[2] Together with his wife Tendó, his sister and his hunting companion Chu, he wandered about, far away from other members of the tribe. This was nothing unusual for the Kaingáng, who sometimes did not see one another for years. When Chu's wife died Wanyekí's wife cooked and made a sleeping-place for him, simply, as the Kaingáng put it, "because he had no wife," and he became her co-husband. So Chu was saved for Wanyekí and his little isolated band and did not wander away in search of another wife. But as time passed Tendó, the wife, died, and Wanyekí and Chu were left alone. Until his nieces, his sister's daughters, grew to adolescence, Wanyekí had no wife. Then one day his sister said to him: "Wanyekí, live with them. There are no other women. They are in the same position as you—there are no men. So go around with them. There is no one else for you to marry. So marry them." Chu had died in the meanwhile, so Wanyekí, who already had had two wives married these three girls, who were much younger than he. This kind of relationship is not difficult for a Kaingáng girl, for far from wishing to retain her hold on the recreations of her childhood she looks forward to the sexual experiences that she has been urged to seek ever since she was a baby in arms.

Wanyekí lived alone with his three wives, his sister's daughters, until

[2] See footnote p. 30.

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they each bore him a child. Then he joined forces with two men whom he had left long ago, and he once more became monogamous, for two of his wives left him to live with these men. Wanyekí did not object. Even though his wives took their sons with them the children remained attached to their father and were frequently in his camp. If Wanyekí had objected there would have been two courses open to him. He could have beaten his wives, in which case they would have left him anyway, or he could have quarreled with the men. In the latter case he would have lost the companionship of the angry men, who would certainly have left him. Actually Wanyekí lived for many years on friendly terms with them, and they continued to make love to his remaining wife Amendó even though they now had wives of their own.

Soon after this Wanyekí was joined by two other men, who became the co-husbands of Amendó, and when Wanyekí's son Véye by his first and now long-dead wife grew to manhood he too shared his father's wife. So father and son, instead of glowering at each other across the fire out of their jealous desire for the same woman, cohabited with her in peace, strengthening the precarious bonds of Kaingáng society. The solution would not be the same in every case, for in another such household Kangndádn beat his son and drove him out for daring to copulate with his second wife. But Wanyekí and Véye shot game for each other and for their robust wife while she bore her four husbands nine lusty children and one weakling who died.

Judging from her numerous love affairs it could never be said that Amendó was unable to cope with the sexual demands of her husbands, but, as the Kaingáng put it, she had a great deal of work to do cooking and fetching water for four hungry men and her children; so she called Nggevén, one of her husbands' nieces, to be her co-wife. Amendó had nothing to fear from the younger woman, for they had four husbands to share between them and Amendó was active in seeking enjoyment outside the bonds of matrimony. So without jealousy or disruption Nggevén moved into this household. She did not have the ignominious position[8] of the second wife that is so common in primitive societies, nor did Amendó ever attempt to drive her out. This closely-knit cooperating unit held together through the years until Nggevén had borne the four husbands ten children. Then Wanyekí and one of his co-husbands died. But although two of the oldest members of the household were dead, although Wanyekí, the husband of Amendó's youth, was dead, the remaining husbands stayed by her and hunted for her. But soon only Véye was left, for the Brazilians killed

[8] The position of the first wife is superior to that of the second only in one respect: in a case of jealous conflict the first wife never leaves.

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Amendó and the other husbands and Nggevén married her young son-in-law and went away.

In relationships like these the violent hostility between an aging father and his son, both striving for the same woman, is resolved through the son's marriage to his step-mother. This has happened over and over again in Kaingáng society, and it is one of the few instances in which a people have been able to settle this ancient conflict peaceably. Instead of being violently possessive like the typical male in our society and like not a few in his own, Wanyekí was willing to share his wives. First he relinquished two of them and then he permitted his son and other men to come and share his remaining wife. This brought peace and security not only to him but also to the men who escaped conflict through his behavior, to the innumerable sympathizers who would have taken sides in the concomitant quarreling, and to the women who escaped the beatings that an angry husband might have given them. Wanyekí possessed a foresight that Yuvén[4] lacked. Yuvén, young, jealous and possessive, drove out his two co-husbands, but as he grew older and his family multiplied he was compelled to accept Kuvén as the husband of both his wife and daughter, for only in that way did he feel that his wife and children would be adequately cared for.

Yakwá is another violent possessive man who got into difficulties because he was unwilling to share his wife. Although he is about sixty years old he is as vigorous as any young man. His powerful muscles bulge beneath his skin and he is tireless in the hunt. No one is faster than he at clearing land for planting. For a nomad, unused to the ways of white civilization, he is an unusually energetic farmer. His violent rages were a trial to me. His wife was not at all like him. She was given to thieving, it is true, but my battles with her were always more or less genial. She was a persistent but gentle thief. She must have been about fifty years old, wonderfully well preserved, and her skin was a beautiful golden tan. There was no doubt that Anggló wanted a kind of love-making that her husband could not give her. So she turned to her son-in-law Kanyahé. Years before she and Yakwá had had a daughter, an only child, who had married Kanyahé but died a few years before I came to the reservation. Kanyahé was about thirty years old. He too was powerfully built, and for energy in the hunt he could match Yakwá. He kept a large household supplied with meat when no one else had any. His sexuality was aggressive and open, and he carried on his affairs almost under the noses of the husbands.

His affair with Anggló made the older man desperate. When Anggló came home he fought with her, not daring to mention the subject of the

[4] Kanggé's father. See p. 36.

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649 conflict. Once a feud arose there was nothing, neither dominating ties of
182 blood nor the voice of chieftainship or government, to stop or limit it.
571 Where the demands of kin by marriage conflicted with the claims of blood
518 and where the call of a hunting companion whose bed one had shared clamored above the voices of blood and affinity the individual was pulled in a dozen directions, by a dozen magnets. Feuds spread, cleaving the society asunder like a deadly axe, blighting its life like the plague. Thus it came about that the very forces of integration carried the seeds of disruption within them. A man's link with his wife's people pulled him from his siblings; his bond with his sister's husband tore him from his wife's people; and his relationships with his hunting companions drew him from all.

522 The Kaingáng are divided into extended families ranging in numbers
596 from 50 to 300 individuals. These families are made up of the descendants
591 of two or more men who have intermarried and whose children have intermarried. Thus each family is closely inbred, and almost every member can trace his genealogy[1] to one of the two or more male ancestors. These ancestral males are real personalities, and the data on them is usually rather full, but there is always a point beyond which memory cannot go, and it is impossible to learn anything about any of their parents or siblings. Marriages with other extended families occurred, but marriages within the families far outnumber marriages between the families. This endogamy was brought about not by a specific taboo on marrying outside but by the hostility between the families which made them distrust one another and which kept them apart. When members of different families did marry it almost always caused a split in the ranks of one or both of the intermarrying groups. In such a case brother might be aligned against brother to the death. Those who shifted from one family to another either through marriage or through having been captured as youngsters were looked on as blood relatives of their new associates and hence as enemies to their former friends and were given no quarter in case of attack by members of the family to which they once belonged.

The Kaingáng call members of their own extended family "my own people," and the warm personal relationships that have been described in the preceding chapters exist only among one's "own people." For hundreds of years there have been several Kaingáng extended families and they have lived in a state of perpetual feud with one another. Whole lineages have been destroyed, and others, overcome by panic, have wandered away into the endless forests, never to be heard of again. Sometimes two extended families have come together and have been able to live in peace, but gen-

[1] The Kaingáng are minutely interested in their own genealogies, and they know who their father's father's father's son's wife's sister's daughter's husband is down to the last detail of all his names, what he died of, and how many children he had.

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erally whoever went contrary to the behavior of the rest of his "own people" and threw in his lot with "another group of people" was lost, for he had joined forces with those whose hate and fear were directed against the ones with whom he had ties. He became a wanderer divorced from his own blood, sleepless at night for fear that they might come to kill him, anxious in the day lest his new companions slay him. If he survived, his children bore the weight of his deed, for they might never return to their father's people. They were *kánggĕgn utpá*, "different men," to them, even though they were first cousins by blood. They had never shared their women or caressed their men. They were shut out of the circle of warm arms and bodies that mean security to the Kaingáng, and they were killed on sight or hunted down like wild animals. In Kaingáng terminology "a different group of our people" is a synonym for *thágn*, enemy. The hated Brazilians and "our different people" are both *thágn*, enemies, "something no good," and severed from the ties of blood in behavior if not in fact.

The Feuds

Today Kaingáng memory does not go further back than the murder of Nduichá with anything like exactness. But it transports us to this death more than a century ago with a precision that is almost mathematical. The complicated genealogies of the people whose descendants are alive today check rigorously. When the Kaingáng discuss such killings as Nduichá's they seem to be fitting together the parts of a machine the intricate workings of which they know precisely. Their absorbed interest in the history of their own destruction has impressed on their minds with flawless clarity the multitudinous cross-workings of the feuds. They remember not only the genealogy of everyone but even details of weather, conversation, and facial expression and the precise spot in which an arrow or a lance struck.

In order to understand the feud conditions under which Nduichá was murdered we must take advantage of these memories and try to picture the composition of Kaingáng society at the time. When our story opens three groups of people are living together: the children of Mumbégn,[2] the children of Kanggúin, and the children of Vomblé. Mumbégn had three wives who bore him many children, but for the present our story is concerned only with three of his offspring: Kumbló, and his sister, and their half-brother, Wanyeká,[3] the son of Mumbégn by another wife. Mumbégn himself had died, and one of his wives, the mother of Kumbló, had married Kovĕ, "a different man," one for whom memory provides no blood tie. For

[2] His real name was Kuvén, but I have called him Mumbégn in order not to confuse him with his son Kuvén, who was killed later. These three men are the ancestors of the extended family with which I lived.

[3] See pp. 37-38.

285 Chusquea pinifolia--Translator] strips which vary only in their width
415 and thickness.

The larger waxed baskets are used as a sort of pail to convey water and honey. The small baskets, also waterproof, are used as vessels--mugs of a sort--for water and for mong-ma on festive occasions.

286 The Botocudo do not plait fans or mats. But they do weave a
482 strap, eight centimeters in width, tied at the ends with a special slipping knot which permits its shortening or lengthening. These straps are woven, sometimes in two colors, of embira fiber. The women use
[554] them placed against the forehead, or against the top of the head, to carry children. The Botocudo carry everything in this fashion, with the weight steadied against the head and resting along the back.

412 These Indians use large tongs made of taquaruçu [a large bamboo, Guadua superba--Translator] or hard wood. These pincers are used to remove food from the fire and from boiling pots. They are called ko-pama, "wooden hand."

619 The Botocudo make up a single tribe composed of various families with equal rights.

622 Power rests with a single chief, pahi, who steers the destinies of the tribe and usually rules on all its actions.

The chief wields this power as long as his worth as a brave and fearless warrior is recognized by all. In his absence the most experienced and courageous warriors take over and exert authority upon the other members of the tribe.

When elderly the chief transfers his command to a worthy warrior, without losing his ascendancy over the tribe. He becomes its respected and venerated counselor.

595 The Botocudo are polygamous. According to his worth, the warrior usually marries two or three women; the chiefs always take more than three wives. [126]

304 On reaching adulthood the youths are tattooed on the arm with a warrior's badge, which consists of two dots laid horizontally. As they prove their manly qualities they are granted another two marks,
[512] tattooed similarly underneath the first. Once thus admitted among the warriors, they are considered ready to marry.